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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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NAZI PLANS FOR DOMINATING GERMANY AND EUROPE

The Attitude of the NSDAP toward Political Terror

Draft for Use of the War Crimes Staff

Washington
9 July 1945

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NOTE

The following report is in the form of a first draft and should not be regarded as a finished product in any sense. Because of the urgency of presenting the factual material which the report contains, it was decided to have it reproduced without the extensive editing and revision which a paper in this form would normally be given. It is hoped that the concrete illustrations and the lines of evidence suggested will overbalance its many defects.

The Attitude of the NSDAP Toward Political Terror

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I. INTRODUCTION

Attitudes of the Nazis toward their own political terrorism have varied from outright denial or expressions of misgiving to flat admission and glorification of the crimes and those who perpetrated them. In the following case-histories of Nazi crimes against the opposition, it will be shown, insofar as possible, what happened not merely to the victims but to the assassins.

II. TERROR IN 1919 - 1923

A. Berlin 1919

1. Franz Von Stephani. In January 1919 revolutionaries occupied the printing house of Vorwaerts. Under the leadership of Major Von Stephani, the Freecorps Potsdam surrounded the building. When on 11 January 1919 the besieged men sent out seven delegates with a white flag to negotiate a surrender, they were killed by order of Major Stephani.[1]

The father of one of the murdered men brought an indictment, and Stephani was arraigned before a court martial of the guard cavalry division. The trial, which was repeatedly shifted from one jurisdiction to another (some military, some civilian) lasted until March 1922; the charges against Stephani were then dismissed by the Berlin Landesgericht II, on the ground that an "irregular mob of soldiers," over whom Stephani had lost all control, had killed the truce delegates.[2]

Stephani later participated in the Kapp Putsch, and became a member of the Stahlhelm command in 1924. On 12 November 1933, Stephani was nominated a member of the Nazi Reichstag (Reichstagshandbuch, 1936).[3]

2. Reichsanwalt Jorns. On 15 January 1919 Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were arrested without a warrant at Wilmersdorf and brought to the Hotel Eden, then the headquarters of a guard cavalry rifle division (Grade-Kavallerie Schuetzen Division). On the following day they were led out of the hotel and knocked down by a soldier named Runge, on the

orders of his superior, Captain Petri. They were then taken away in separate cars and killed by officer commandos.[4]

This double murder excited the public so much that the Division had to start proceedings against the culprits. Lt. Captain Canaris, one of the judges, visited the accused after they had been taken into custody, in order to coordinate their stories. The investigation was conducted by Jorns, at that time counselor of the military court (Kriegsgerichtsrat). Although Jorns had beem warned that one of the assassins planned to escape by using falsified identification papers, he did nothing to prevent it.[5] Furthermore--to quote the sentence of the Court--Jorns

a. "failed to investigate clues which might have helped to clear up the crime;

b. "Neglected even clues which he had recognized as important;

c. "attempted to destroy evidence by reporting the opposite of the true result of the investigation.

d. "consciously tolerated circumstances which were apt to conceal the true facts and to endanger the whole investigation.

On the basis of such an investigation the assassins of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had little to fear. On 14 May 1919 very mild sentences were imposed on them.

As for Jorns, he became in 1920 an assistant (Hilfsarbeiter) to the highest German court (Reichsgericht) and was entrusted with investi-

gations against German war criminals of the First World War. And in 1923 Jorns was named Reich attorney (Reichsanwalt), and put in charge of investigations against German leftist journalists who had attempted to discover and publish details concerning the secret rearmament of Germany.

In March 1928, the journalist Berthold Jacob attacked Jorns in the weekly Tagebuch (28 March 1928), asserting that Jorns as an investigator had favored the assassins of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. The editors of the Tagebuch thereupon were accused of defamation.[6] Their trial, however, resulted in the moral defeat of Jorns, whom the attorney often by mistake called "the accused," and the editors were acquitted. The court of revision later fined them, but went no further.

Jorns remained at the Reichsgericht and in the summer of 1934 became attorney general for the new supreme Volksgericht of the Third Reich. On 1 April 1937 Jorns retired on grounds of age and received his pension. According to the New Yorker Staatszeitung, 2 April 1937, State Secretary for Justice Freisler paid tribute to Jorns' services and gave him a message of appreciation from Adolf Hitler.

3. Marloh and Reinhard. In March 1919, as elsewhere in the Reich, clashes occurred in Berlin between revolutionary elements of the old Army, particularly the sailors, and counterrevolutionary troops, from which the "Freecorps," for example, were recruited. On 9 and 10 March reports appeared in all Berlin newspapers stating that 57 policemen

(later given as 60 and finally as 150) had been killed by Spartakist revolutionaries in the district of Lichtenberg. In point of fact, two policemen had been fatally wounded during a shooting affray.

The intention of the German Government, however, was to dissolve the revolutionary army units, and this incident served as a convenient pretext. On 11 March, the Volksmarinedivision (consisting of revolutionary sailors) was called together for the last time to receive its pay. The building in which the sailors were to get their money was then occupied by a Freecorps unit under the command of Lt. Marloh, who had orders from General Von Luettwitz (who later organized the Kapp Putsch) to use this opportunity to arrest as many sailors as possible. When about 250 sailors, most of them without arms, showed up to get their pay, they were arrested.

With so many prisoners Marloh began to feel uneasy. He called up a Colonel Reinhard and asked for his support. Reinhard's answer was: "Remember Lichtenberg!" and expressed his surprise and disappointment at Marloh's soft treatment of the sailors. Why didn't he use his rifles?

Marloh, accordingly, selected the most intelligent sailors and ordered 29 of them killed with machineguns. Then he fled, using false identification papers. Captured, he was arrested and court martialed. The court (9 December 1919) decided that those sailors who had been armed had been in possession of legal gun licenses, and that Marloh's situation

had not been such that he was justified in using arms. At the same time it ruled that since Marloh had believed he was executing a military order of his commanding officer he could be sentenced only for leaving the army without permission and for using falsified papers. His punishment was three months Festung (honorary prison);[7] only after the Kapp Putsch was he dismissed from the Army. As for the murdered sailors, their relatives received some money from the state treasury.

Under the Third Reich Marloh was nominated manager of the state prison in Celle. On 31 January 1935, sixteen years after the massacre, the military court of Frankfort canceled Marloh's old sentence of 9 December 1919[8] and acquitted him.

Colonel Reinhart, who had given Marloh his "orders," became an SS-Oberfuehrer and in 1934 was chosen to command the Kyffhauserbund, with 3 million members, the only front soldiers organization permitted in the Nazi Reich. In 1936 he was "elected" a member of the German Reichstag. (Deutsche Fuehrer-Lexikon; Berlin, 1934).

B. Munich 1919-1922.

On 1 May 1919, with the fall of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, government troops, accompanied by the Free Corps Epp and the students' Free Corps from Wurtemberg,[9] marched into Munich.

In the ranks of the Free Corps Epp were Rudolf Hess; Wilhelm Brueckner (later Hitler's personal aide); Major General Huehnlein (later

in command of the National Socialist Motor Corps; Karl Fritsch (under Hitler, Minister of the Interior in Saxony); Schauwecker (later a member of the Supreme People's Court of the Third Reich).

These troops established military courts which sentenced to death 186 people. Murdered without benefit of court martial were also 184 so-called Spartakists, among whom were 21 members of a Catholic apprentice's organization (Gesellenverein).

Two following two murders were typical of this period.

1. Lindenfels and Leib. On 30 April 1919, in Fuerstenfeldbruch near Munich, an unarmed sailor named Vogel was arrested by troops from Wuertemberg. As a sailor, he was apparently regarded as a dangerous revolutionary. On his way to headquarters Vogel was mistreated, and then, without even a hearing, shot on the orders of Rittmeister Freiherr Walter Von Lindenfels. Lindenfels said simply: "There is the scoundrel; execute him immediately!"[10]

Lindenfels' second case involved a journalist, Josef Anton Leib, who published a magazine in Munich called "The Republican, the People's Paper for South-German Freedom." On 2 May 1919, the students' Free Corps from Tuebingen (Battalion Lindenfels) searched his house. They found nothing which could arouse suspicion, but Leib was taken away and, at Lindenfels command, shot "because he had insulted German officers."

Lindenfels was arraigned before the military court of the Reichswehr Brigade Wuertemberg; before he could be sentenced, however, the court martial was suspended and the Stuttgart civil court (Landesgericht Stuttgart) took over the case and quashed it.[11]

Leib's widow asked the state for a pension; at first she received it, but later the Reichswirtschaftsgericht (Supreme Court for Economic Matters) denied her right to it. Reason: "an abuse of official duties can never be considered an act of open violence."

In 1934 Lindenfels became leader of SA brigade No. 50. On 29 March 1936 he was "elected" to the German Reichstag. He died in 1938. (His official career is given in the appendix).

2. Franz Von Epp. After the conquest of Munich the Bavarian Free Corps kept its name Einwohnerwehr (citizens army), and guarded their illegal arms against "traitors" by committing numerous murders and so-called "Secret Murders" (Fehmemord). When called before the investigation committee of the German Reichstag, Franz Von Epp defended the reactions as follows:

"It is my opinion that the law protected those traitors who were willing to give away our arms. Therefore, I deem it an act of self-defense and a normal right if patriotic circles act against such traitors, if only to deter others. The murders of traitors (who gave away our arms) had the consent of the patriotic circles, and they have it still.

Since the judicial administration remained passive, it seemed to be clear that self-help was necessary. There was no reason to make any distinction between such traitors, who were willing to give the arms away to the Entente or to leftist radical groups, and traitors who wished to betray the arms to the (official) German Disarmament Commission, because in this case also the motives were impure, for the traitors could not know, in any case, whether the arms would be kept for patriotic purposes."[12]

Epp became a member of the Nazi faction of the German Reichstag in 1928; in 1932 he took over the command over the Nazi Party office for military policy (Wehrpolitisches amt) and for colonial questions (Kolonialreferat). He brought Bavaria under the Nazi dictatorship in 1933 and was named "Statthalter" of Bavaria.

3. Wilhelm Weiss. Captain Wilhelm Weiss was a member of the command of the Bavarian Einwohnerwehr in 1920 and later took part in the Hitler putsch. Under the Third Reich he became deputy editor of the Voelkischer Beobachter and leader of the Reich Organization of the German Press, and in 1933 he was appointed to the Reichstag. Finally, according to the Frankfurter Zeitung of 14 July 1934, he joined the People's Court (Volksgerichtshof).

The Nazi law on the People's Court states that laymen are chosen as members who have had exceptional experience in fighting treason. A

protector of illegal arms depots, in Nazi eyes, evidently had such experience.

4. Wilhelm Frick. All strings concerning the Feme-murders of the Bavaria "Einwohnerwehr were pulled by two men: Dr. Wilhelm Frick, and his superior, Poehner, of the Munich Police Department. At this office the assassins of Erzberger, Schulz, and Tillessen, and later Ehrhardt, received falsified passports. Both Poehner and Frick, participated in the Hitler putsch. In 1930 Frick became the first National Socialist minister in Thuringia and attempted to naturalize (the Austrian) Adolf Hitler by naming him as commander of the gendarmerie of the city of Hildburghausen. The attempt failed. Frick was Hitler's first Minister of Interior. The Fuehrer-Lexikon of 1934/35 says about Frick: "As the leader of the Munich political police Frick held his protecting hand over the still young and weak National Socialist Party."

C. The Battle of Coburg.

An affair which by itself was rather unimportant, but which strongly influenced the technique of the Nazi Party, took place on 14 October 1922 at Coburg. A special "German Day" was to be celebrated. Hitler came from Munich by special train with 800 SA men, and was joined in town by other local SA groups. Military command rested in the hands of Lt. Klintzsch, then leader of the SA, a former member of the illegal "Consul" organization.

The local nationalistic group which had arranged the "German Day" had promised local trade union groups that the SA would not march in formation, that no Nazi flags would be shown, and that no music would be played. But the Nazis broke the promise. Fist fights started at the railroad station, were repeated when the SA marched to its quarters, and broke out again on the following day. To provoke new fights the Nazis marched through the workers' quarters and knocked down everyone they came across. Since the workers fought back, there were many wounded on both sides.

This was "the battle of Coburg" about which Hitler remarked later on in Mein Kampf that it had made up his mind "to liquidate the red terror once and for all" (p. 615). This was the first organized expedition of a private army on the Fascist model, and it became the standard for the later National Socialist terror. Three prominent Nazis--Willi Heer, Dr. Otto Helmuth, and Emil Klein-- as well as the former Duke of Coburg, are said to have been named members of the German Reichstag because of this street battle of Coburg.

D. Kapp Putsch and Consul Organization

In March 1920 the Kapp putsch occured. Ehrhardt, with his brigade of Marine officers, marched into Berlin and was joined by the greater part of the Reichswehr. He then massacred more than 70 followers of the democratic republic, while hundreds of people were killed during the

fighting he provoked.[13] The NSDAP was a negligible group at this time, but it expressed its sympathies for Kapp (Berliner Lokalanzeiger, 14 March 1920). Hitler went to Berlin to participate. He arrived, however, too late: the Kapp "government" had already fled.

In March 1933 five leading Kapp putschists were "elected" members of the German Reichstag; twelve others were named members of the Reichstag during the Third Reich.

A typical murder during the period of the Putsch is the following:

1. Dr. Von Verschuer: The Government of Thuringia held out against the Kapp Putsch and arrested the insurgent officers. A free corps, consisting mostly of students from the University of Marburg, under the command of Fregattenkapitaen Von Selchow, then marched into Thuringia on 20 March 1920 "to restore order." (Second in command of the free corps was Dr. Von Verschuer). In Bad Thal 15 workers, among them 5 members of the German Democratic Party, were denounced and arrested on charges which were without any foundation. All fifteen were shot on 25 March 1920 on the road near the city of Mechterstaedt, "while attempting to escape." The Free Corps marched on, singing.

A military court on 19 June 1920 acquitted the assassins. This verdict was affirmed later on by a jury at Kassel (on December 1920).[14]

Verschuer later on became one of the leading anthropologists of the Third Reich. He belonged to the group which prepared the "scientific

basis" of National Socialist racism and, in this way, prepared also for the annihilation of lesser peoples (see Appendix: remarks in the German Fuehrer-Lexikon about Selchow and Verschuer).

2. Manfred Von Killinger. Matthias Erzberger was the leader of the Center Party (the Catholic party); in 1917 he had demanded a peace without annexations; he had signed the armistice, and as Minister of Finance had tried to stop inflation.

On 26 August 1921, Erzberger was murdered by two marine officers, Heinrich Schulz and Heinrich Tillessen. Both were members of the Organization Consul,[15] which was an outgrowth of the Ehrhardt Marine brigade.[16] Their superior officer, Captain Manfred Von Killinger, one of the leaders of the Kapp Putsch, supported and assisted the assassination. Killinger was indicted for aid given to the assassins, but the jury in Offenburg acquitted him. Revision of this sentence was refused by the German Supreme Court (Reichsgericht) on 27 February 1923.

On 12 May 1929, Killinger entered the Saxon Landtag (State parliament) as a representative of the NSDAP. On 6 May 1933, Hitler appointed him Minister President of Saxony. At the same time he was made a judge on the Supreme People's Court. In 1936 Killinger became consul general in San Francisco, later German Minister in Slovakia, and finally in Rumania. There he committed suicide when the Red Army marched in. (See Appendix: Life story of Killinger in the German Reichstagshandbuch, 1938).

Schulz and Tillessen escaped to Hungary; the Hungarian Government refused to surrender them to Germany. For years many swindlers posed in nationalist circles as "the assassin of Erzberger." As a matter of fact, "every city between Athens and Angora now has its assassins of Erzberger, and since the number of stupid people is only exceeded by the number of good-natured ones, this type of enterprise (namely to make capital of the names of Schulz and Tillessen) is a very lucrative one" (from an article of Hans Troebst in the Voelkische Kurier, 17 March 1925).

The press service of the State of Baden announced in April 1933 (as reported by Temps, Paris, 12 April 1933) that the criminal court in Offenburg, on the basis of the amnesty of March 1933, had liquidated the case against the assassins. Schulz and Tillessen returned to Germany. In the Mannheim paper Hakenkreuzbanner (No. 230, 1933) a certain Dr. Grueninger saluted the assassins as follows:

"It is only right that we give our best wishes to these champions of the nationalistic idea. After an Odyssey of twelve years they are returning to the Germany of Adolf Hitler, and we are proud that these men of deeds are again among us. We know that Schulz and Tillessen during the long years of bitter exile never wavered. In spite of all hard physical and mental pain they always believed in ultimate victory of the good of Adolf Hitler and his movement. They stuck to the Hitler movement with unparalleled consistency. Therefore we are thankful to these brave men, and we will remember their names, knowing that history

some day will recognize the importance of their deeds even more fully than we are able to do today."

E. The Assassins of Rathenau

Walter Rathenau, German Foreign Minister, was killed on 24 June 1922 in Grunewald, near Berlin. His assassins were Erwin Kern and Herman Fischer, both first lieutenants; they killed Rathenau by shooting at him from a car driven by Ernst Werner Techow. On 18 July 1922 Kern and Fischer were discovered by the police at the castle of Saaleck in Thuringia, which belonged to the writer E. W. Stein. Kern was shot while firing at the policemen; Fischer killed himself. His last words were: "Long live Captain Ehrhardt!" A number of people connected with the murder were subsequently tried by the State Court for the Protection of the Republic and condemned to fairly long prison terms.

Ernst Werner Techow, sentenced to 15 years in prison (Zuchthaus), received letters from Dr. Goebbels while in prison. One of them as found in Techow's pamphlet "Common Murderer? - The Rathenau Attentat" (Leipzig, 1934), p. 31, reads as follows: "... and this is also the reason why National Socialist Germany backs you up so absolutely without limitation. We believe that a day will come when the new Germany will settle accounts also for this chapter of our post-war period. It is my innermost feeling: I want to shake your hand, and though I am not per-

mitted to express my sympathy with your deed, I nevertheless stand by you and your comrades as a man, as a German, as a young activitr who believes in the future and renascence of Germany in spite of everything."

The magazine Standarte (very close to the Stahlhelm organization and also to the Nazis) stated in August 1926:

"We confess and pledge ourselves to the community of German nationalist martyrs: Schlageter, Kern and Fischer, put in the tower of Saaleck and shot like noble *game; Tillessen and Schulz, hunted through the world....the champions of our revolution would have died in vain, would have suffered persecution in vain, if we did not stand by their deeds....These deeds mean more to us than everything that the rightist parties have achieved in eight years in the Reichstag."[17]

The Third Reich brought amnesty for Techow, while the memorial in Grunewald for the murdered Rathenau was removed.**

*Sic on original.

**Excerpt from Voelkischer Beobachter 18 July 1933. Front page headlines read: "Roehm, Himmler, and Ehrhardt at the graves of the liquidators of Rathenau--Kern and Fischer. The new Germany removes the outlawry of the Marine officers who had been persecuted by the system (i.e., by the Republic).

"Himmler (speaking): 'We confess frankly that we honor your deed as a great historical deed, and that we shall honor it also in the future to come..like you, we of the SS are always ready not to spare our own blood or that of others if the Fatherland needs it.' Himmler also explained that 120,000 SS men were firmly bound to the assassins in spirit.

"Roehm: 'As surely as there is a God, your deeds have found all justification in our liberated Fatherland. We promise you to fight on in your spirit. You did not die in vain; the people of today understand your deed, and it will always count you among its heroes of blessed memory.'

"Wreaths were sent by the Reich Government and many other German officials, among them Manfred von Killinger, Minister President of Saxony."

A few months later, another high Nazi official took exactly the opposite position concerning political murders. When Dimitroff during the Reichstag trial started to speak about the assassination of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Goebbels, as a witness under oath, remarked "If I may say something, your Honor, why not start with Adam and Eve? When Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered, there was no National Socialist movement."

Dimitroff: "Did the assassins of Rathenau and Erzberger have some connection with the National Socialist Party?"

Goebbels: "These murders took place when the NSDAP was only a very small party existing only inside of Munich and without any importance whatever."[18] And Goebbels went on: "The murder of Rathenau and Erzberger was not committed by National Socialists. It cannot be tolerated that things which happened outside of the Nazi movement are laid on its doorstep."[19]

But Goebbels was quickly corrected. At the beginning of June 1934 a second celebration for the Rathenau murderers was arranged at the Saaleck castle. General Von Der Goltz and Ernst Wilhelm Stein, the owner of the castle, celebrated the memory of the assassins "who had prepared for the coming of the Third Reich." In November 1933 five members of the former Consul Organization became members of the Reichstag. (See below).

F. The Rossbach Corps

The Free Corps Rossbach fought in 1919 in the Baltic states; it participated in the Kapp putsch in 1920; several times prohibited, it perpetuated itself as a "league for professional agricultural education." The Rossbach men lived on the large estates in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, as protectors of the big landowners against the Republican farm hands. Their weapons came from the German Reichswehr. "Arms have to be kept secret, traitors have to be liquidated by all means," was stated in an order of General Von Pawelsz.[20]

Two typical and important men of the Third Reich came out of the cadres of the Rossbach corps: Heines and Bormann.

1. Heines. Lt. Edmund Heines, after fighting in the Baltic area and serving as a member of the Free Corps Oberland, was put in charge of the Rossbach troops on the Rosenfelds estate (district Greifenhagen, near Stettin). Willy Schmidt, one of the Rossbach people, tried in July 1920 to stop work and leave the organization. Among his comrades the suspicion arose that Schmidt intended to inform the Prussian police about the secret arms depot. Schmidt, consequently, was killed by Heines .

The murder was discovered only years later, when a man who knew of it tried to extort money. The jury in Stettin condemned Heines on 5 May 1928 to 15 years in prison. Since the sentence came at a time when the NSDAP wanted to appear a law-abiding party, Heines, who in 1921 had be=

come a member, was read out of it. He was later readmitted.[21] The third criminal court of the Reichsgericht suspended the Stettin sentence and on 13 March 1929 commuted it to only five years in prison. After Heines had finished about one and one-half years in prison, his attorney demanded another revision of the sentence, and Heines was released from prison on bail.

The Nazi victory of 1930 brought Heines into the German Reichstag, and with the establishment of the Nazi regime he became president of the police at Breslau. Effective 1 May 1933 Heines took over the leadership of Obergruppe No. 1 of the SA, at the same time remaining in charge of the SA in Silesia.

Heines was responsible for at least one more crime before he died. The Breslau Social Democrat Alexander, one of the leading men of the Breslau Republican Reichsbanner, had a personal quarrel with Heines in September 1933 at the headquarters of the Breslau police. Alexander was then "shot while trying to escape."

On 30 June 1934 Heines himself was killed in the Roehm purge.

2. Bormann. Martin Bormann, another member of the Rossbach Organization, who rose to one of the highest positions in the Third Reich, committed a murder similar to that of Heines.

Among the Rossbach people in Herzberg near Parchin (Mecklenburg) in 1923 was a former teacher, Walter Kadow,/a fugitive guilty of some petty thefts.

Bormann at that time was treasurer of the Deutschvoelkische Freiheits-partei (German National Freedom Party) in Parchim. He gave orders that if Kadow should appear again he was to be taken into custody to work off his debts. On 31 May 1923 Kadow returned to Parchim, ostensibly to borrow some money for a trip to the Ruhr, where he claimed he would help to organize acts of sabotage. His return was reported to Bormann, who now said it would be better to thrash him thoroughly. "Some of the comrades might participate in it," Bormann suggested. A number of the Rossbach gang were called together from various estates, Bormann lending his dogcart. They met Kadow at an inn, got him drunk, put him into the cart, took him into the woods, and killed him.

The deed excited even the Rossbachers immensely. Bormann appeared on the estate the next day (1 June) and admonished everybody who had had anything to do with the murder to, "Go away as quickly as possible." He also did his best to protect the murderers. One of them, however, who talked when he was drunk and was therefore thrashed by his comrades, feared that he would share Kadow's fate. He went to the Berlin police and revealed the murder.

Six of the murderers were condemned to long prison terms at hard labor by the State Court for the Protection of The Republic on 15 March 1924. Bormann was sentenced to one year in prison as an accessory; the Court did not choose to explore the fact that it was Bormann who had brought the murderers together. Six big landowners and functionaries of

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the Rosebach organization, who were connected with the murder, received six-month prison terms.

In 1926, when Pfeffer was the Supreme SA Leader, Bormann became his second in command. Then, in 1930, he was put in charge of the Party Aid Fund (Hilfs Kasse) under Rudolf Hess. In November 1933 he was elected to the Reichstag and appointed Stabsleiter (assistant) to Rudolf Hess (the Deputy of the Fuehrer in all questions concerning the NSDAP).[23] Bormann in 1936 became Reichsleiter of the NSDAP, and finally was put in charge of the central Party chancellory (Parteikanzlei).

This office was in reality one of the most powerful in the German state. It dealt with all Party plans and projects and with all "questions important to the existence of the German people." It worked and prepared its plans immediately for the Fuehrer. By an order of Hitler (29 May 1941) its chief was vested with the rank of a Reich Minister, was a member of the Ministerial Council for the Defense of the Reich, and represented the Party in negotiations with all Ministries and other Government offices. It was he who took care that the opinions of the NSDAP were expressed in all state laws, general or local. He was, in addition, custodian of the Nazi Weltanschauung.

After Hess' flight to England Bormann became his successor, and thus the most important Party man next to Hitler. (See Appendix, biography of Bormann according to Reichstagshandbuch, 1938.)

G. The Feme Murders and the Kuestrin Putsch.

During the year 1923, when inflation reached the peak in Germany, the Reichswehr began to build up an illegal military organization, especially in Berlin, called the "Black Reichswehr." It was to become a pool for former members of the Einwohnerwehren (citizens army), the free corps, and those military formations which had fought against the Poles in Upper Silesia. The Black Reichswehr furnished terrorists for the struggle against the Allies in the Ruhr. Its aims were never formulated clearly, and, as often happens in the case of illegal organizations, the leadership shifted away from the legal creators.

In its determination to protect illegal arm depots, the Black Reichswehr committed numerous "Feme" murders--assassinations of a victim who had usually been kidnapped and given a drumhead court-martial. Lt. Paul Schulz was in command of the Feme organization; three sergeant majors executed most of the murders: Buesching, Klapproth, and Fahlbusch.

1. Lt. Hayn. In June 1923 Lt. Janke, Corporal Balke, and Sergeant-Major Gaedicke of the Black Reichswehr removed 15 trunks of ammunition from a transport and sold it for 2 and a half million paper Marks (about $70.00.) This was discovered. On 16 June Lt. Schulz discussed the case with Lt. Hayn and declared that Gaedicke must be liquidated. Schulz made the necessary plans: Gaedicke was ordered to go to the fortress of Tschernow, Lt. Hayn and Sergeant-Major Klapproth were to follow him, and Klapproth was to kill Gaedicke. Everything might have gone accordi

schedule had not Gaedicke's superior discovered the scheme at the last moment. The upshot was that Schulz, suddenly on the side of the law, arrested Lt. Janke on 16 June at Kuestrin. An attempt to poison Janke in prison failed, but Balke, afraid of the Feme, committed suicide. Janke and Gaedicke were condemned to five months in prison for theft by a jury in Kuestrin on 1 August 1923.

Fear of the Feme kept most members of the Black Reichswehr silent, and it was only years later that the Feme murderers came to be tried. Schulz and Hayn were acquitted by the jury in Stettin in May 1928 for their attempted assassination of Gaedicke, while Klapproth got only one year in prison for "heavy bodily injury." Two persons connected with the attempt to poison Janke received two years terms in prison.

2. Paul Schulz. Janke and Gaedicke, then, escaped the Feme, but this was certainly an exception: Schulz did not usually fail to get his man. The following six cases of murder were planned, prepared, and ordered by Lt. Schulz.

Name	Rank	Date	Place
Willi Legner	Sergeant-Major	31 March 1923	Doeberitz
Erich Pannier	Private	4 June 1923	Doeberitz
Walter Wilms	Sergeant-Major	18 July 1923	Rathenow
Paul Groeschke	Private	22 July 1923	Kuestrin
Alfred Brauer	Sergeant	2 August 1923	Kuestrin
Georg Sand	Lieutenant	3 September 1923	Doeberitz

For these murders, all of which were brought to trial, Lt. Schulz and another officer, Lt. Benn, were condemned to death. The sentence, however, was changed to seven and a half years in prison. Lt. Schulz was then released from prison later "for reasons of health" on 28 June 1929, and in 1930 the NSDAP made him a candidate for the Reichstag. In 1931 he was appointed Supreme SA leader of Berlin.

Twelve other officers and non-commissioned officers connected with the Feme murders of the Black Reichswehr were sentenced to long prison terms. Klapproth, first condemned to death and then to 15 years in prison, had his punishment reduced by an amnesty to seven and a half years. The NSDAP nominated him as a candidate for the Reichstag in 1930,-- thus expressly showing its acquiescence in the Feme murders.

As for Buesching and Fahlbusch, the other murderers, they escaped. Fahlbusch went to the United States. Deported for smuggling, he returned to Bremen. There he met Lt. Schulz. They consumed a great deal of alcohol, and next morning Fahlbusch was found dead on a sail-boat. He had died, it was announced, from "escaping gas." At Fahlbusch's funeral, Stahlhelm and SA men marched behind his coffin. (Reported by Vossische Zeitung 21 January 1931.)

3. Buchrucker. Formation of the Black Reichswehr in 1923, Ehrhardt's march to Franconia, and Hitler's preparations for the putsch of November 1923 were parts of a concerted plan based on decentralized preparations.

The goal was the overthrow of the republic.

Major Buchrucker, the highest officer of the Black Reichswehr, planned to march from Kuestrin to Berlin. On 30 September 1923 he asked the official commander of Kuestrin, Colonel Gudowius, to march with him. Gudowius, instead, ordered Buchrucker's arrest. Thereupon a troop of the Black Reichswehr under the command of Lt. Hayn invaded Gudowius' office and fighting broke out which continued until 3 October and ended with the capture of all Black Reichswehr troops.[24]

An extraordinary military court (Ausnahmsgericht) condemned Buchrucker for high treason to ten years Festung (honorary prison), while Hayn received eight months and an accomplice, Vogt, six months in prison. The amnesty of 1927 liberated all of them. Hayn became a National Socialist member of the Reichstag in March 1933. Vogt and nine other Black Reichswehr men followed suit in November 1933 (see Reichstagshandbuch, November 1933, Appendix).

All punishments received because of the Feme murders, in fact, were reduced by the amnesty of 14 July 1928; the 14 who had been condemned to death received prison terms of seven and a half years. A later amnesty under the Third Reich wiped out even these sentences.

4. Grimm. At the end of the most important Feme trials in 1929 a kind of "Feme literature" sprang up. It was published by the nationalist (and later National Socialist) publisher, I. F. Lehmann, in Munich. The

authors intended to picture the Feme as law-abiding, to give it a sentimental touch, and to cover up its real connections. The ultimate aim of this literature was, of course, to make propaganda for the liberation of the murderers. "The Feme Lie" (contributions by Friedrich Felgen, Hans Albert Von Birckhann, and Walter Weiss) is typical. The Black Reichswehr and the Feme murders are described as absolutely legal. In National Socialist fashion the problem is turned upside down: not the Feme murders, but the campaign against the Feme has to be explained. Its instigators are linked with 'world capital,' in brief, Jewry. On page 69, for example, it says: "We have all respect for men who liquidate traitors to the fatherland in a legal fashion."

Another writer of this type, Dr. Walter Luetgebrune (Truth and Right for the Feme, Munich, 1928), explains the murders as being merely independent acts of the troops concerned. Prof. Dr. Friedrich Grimm, who defended Lt. Schulz, published the following pamphlets: "Principles of the Feme Trials," "Judgement in the Case of Lt. Schulz"; "Proposal for an Amnesty of Schulz"; "Feme and Black Reichswehr."

H. The Hitler Putsch of 1923

By the fall of 1923 serious conflict had developed between the German Government in Berlin and the autonomist Kahr government in Munich. The Reich Government ordered the commanding officer of the Bavarian Government to install Lossow again as "commanding officer for the land Bavaria" and demanded that the Bavarian Reichswehr take an oath of loyalty to the Bavarian state government "as the trustee of the German

people." This controversy between Bavaria and the Reich was further complicated by the conflict which had developed between the Bavarian Reichswehr and the National Socialists, whom it had illegally armed. The Nazis were for a centralized government.

On the evening of 8 November 1923 Hitler, with a troop of armed SA men, pushed into a meeting in the Buergerbraeukeller at which Kahr had intended to announce his Bavarian program. Hitler then forced Kahr, Lossow, and police chief Seisser to give their consent to the proclamation of a "national revolution" and to declare the Reich Government deposed.

In the days that followed this coalition of forces, the Nazis committed their usual crimes--murder of hostages, mistreatment of prisoners, rape, and destruction of property. Typical of Hitler's henchmen at this period were the following.

1. Maurice. One of Hitler's oldest friends, Emil Maurice celebrated the putsch by sacking the printing house of the Social Democratic Muenchner Post, stealing all the cash, mistreating the employees and destroying the building. On 28 April 1924 he was condemned by the People's Court at Munich to one year and six months fortress imprisonment (Festung). Forty other participants received sentences up to one year and three months.

During their prison term together Hitler dictated parts of Mein Kampf to his "brave Maurice," and in 1936 he appointed him a member of the Reichstag.

2. Seydel. Another troop of National Socialists, commanded by Gregor Strasser, Lt. Captain Hoffmann (of the Consul Organization), and Captain Josef Seydel, stole banknotes worth 60,000 gold Marks from the Parcus and Muehltaler printing office. When this case was tried before the Munich People's Court (12 May 1924), the public was excluded. Seven of the accused received 1 year and 3 months fortress (Festung) each, but with probation, and were fined 30 to 50 Marks. Nothing was ever heard about the return of the stolen money.

Seydel was named a member of the Reichstag in November 1933. (See Appendix: life stories of Maurice and Seydel in the Reichstagshandbuch of 1938.)

III. TERROR IN 1930 TO 1934

A. "Let the Heads Roll"

In his book "Mein Kampf" (Munich, 1927, vol. II, p. 609) Hitler has given his opinion, somewhat ambiguously, of political murder:

"One of the dangers of secret political organizations today is that the greatness of the task is often misunderstood by their members and that they believe the fate of a whole people could be changed to the better by one single political murder. Such an opinion might be justified from a historical point of view, in case a people lives under the despotic rule of one able oppressor, about whom it is known that only his superior personality is able to guaranty the firmness and strength of the hostile oppression. In such a case one self-sacrificing man might spring up from a nation to push the deadly steel into the breast of the hated one. Only the republican sentiment of small scoundrels will look at such a deed as something contemptible, while the greatest among the singers of liberty of our people was able in his "Tell" to celebrate such an act.

"During the years 1919 and 1920 there was a danger that the members of secret organizations, spurred by the great examples of history and moved by the unlimited misfortune of the Fatherland, would attempt to take revenge on the corrupters of our country and believe that the need of the nation would then come to an end. Any such attempt was stupid, because Marxism has not won through the capacities and personality of a

single leader, but only through the complete and lamentable breakdown of the bourgeois world. The most frightful criticism one can make against our bourgeoisie is that the revolution itself did not produce a single person of importance, and that in spite of this fact the bourgeoisie succumbed to it. One might even understand that somebody should give in to a Robespierre, a Danton, or a Marat, but it is crushing to have licked the boots of the meagre Scheidemann, the fat Erzberger, a Friedrich Ebert, and all the other political dwarfs. There was really not one brain among them, who could have been looked on as the man of genius of the revolution and therefore responsible for the misfortune of our Fatherland. There have been only revolutionary bugs, knapsackspartakists en gros and en detail. It was absolutely unimportant to liquidate any single one of them; the only result would have been that some other exploiter would have taken his place.

"During these years one could not too sharply oppose such an opinion, which went back to the great examples of history, but was not at all suited to our present age of dwarfs.

"The question of liquidating so-called traitors must also be regarded from the same viewpoint. It is ridiculous and illogical to kill a man who has surrendered a gun, while next to him some scoundrels obtained the highest state position after they had sold a whole Reich, making meaningless the death of two million soldiers and the sacrifices of millions of crippled people. To liquidate small traitors makes no sense in a state

where the government itself leaves high treason unpunished. Under such circumstances it might even happen, that the real idealist, who does away with a lousy traitor, might be tried by the main traitors themselves. And there is another important question: Shall such a treacherous little creature be liquidated by another creature or by an idealist? In one case, the success is doubtful and new treason (for the future) nearly certain. In the other case a little scoundrel disappears, but the most valuable life of an idealist is perhaps endangered.

"For the rest, it is my opinion that one should not hang small thieves while the big ones run away, but that one day the German national court (Nationalgerichtshof) will condemn to death some ten thousand criminals who organized the November treason and all that went with it. They will then be tried and executed. Such an example will be a necessary lesson also for the small traitor who surrenders some weapons.

"These are considerations which have moved me time and again to prohibit any participation in secret organizations and to preserve the SA from becoming such an organization during those years I kept the National Socialist movement away from such experiments, which were executed mostly by wonderful idealistic young Germans who by their deeds sacrificed themselves without helping the Fatherland in any way."

According to this, Hitler disapproved of individual murders. Since the Republic did not create objects significant enough, these methods were not effective. But Hitler announced a more effective mass action.

Later on, this note was even more emphasized.

In September 1930 three officers, Lieutenants Scheringer and Ludin, and First Lt. Wendt, were indicted before the Reichsgericht for high treason committed by building up National Socialist cells inside the Reichswehr. Hitler appeared as a witness. On 25 September, he declared under oath before the Reichsgericht at Leipzig, that the SA was not armed and that the National Socialist movement was strictly legal and acted by constitutional means alone. Only after having won a majority in the German Reichstag was a National Socialist State court (Staatsgerichtshof) to be established; then the "heads would roll," but completely legally. "Those wonderful words," this "noble announcement of expiation" were "spoken out of the hearts of all National Socialists," said Dr. Von Leers in the Angriff, September 1931.[25] "Let the heads roll" became an every-day slogan of the Nazi Party.

1. Steinfatt. The real attitude of the NSDAP to the political murders was perhaps best characterized by a speech of the National Socialist member of Mecklenburg Diet, representative Steinfatt:

"During peaceful times [he said] nobody needs political murders. But in troublesome times like today, when the enemy is right inside of our country, then everything is different. The National Socialists believe that if one single man in our country starts to be harmful to the people, then it is the right and duty of everybody to do away with such a person. How that has to be done may be the subject of different

opinions. But everybody has the duty for reasons of state necessity, to do what is in the interest of the German people. We fight even political murder, when it is not absolutely in the interest of the German people." (Frankfurter Zeitung, 22 December 1929).

This opinion was to become the supreme law of the Third Reich.

2. Dr. Best. In November 1931 the Hessian police searched National Socialist homes and found detailed murder plans worked out for the occasion of a Nazi putsch. The Hessian government counselor (Regierungsrat) Karl Mierendorf published the plan, originated by the Nazi judge Dr. Werner Best and the Nazi member of the Hessian Diet, Dr. Schaefer. Schaefer admitted that the document was authentic and that he and Best had written it. This so-called Boxheimer Document runs, according to Röhm, Memoiren, Saarbrücken, in part as follows:

3. The Boxheimer Document. Draft of the first proclamation of our leaders after the former highest state offices have been eliminated and the Communists have been beaten. To be applied on the basis of an area suited to unified administration.

Announcement (1) by placard

(2) by information of all administrative units.

Volksgenossen!

The former bearers of the state power in the Reich as well as in the Land have been eliminated by the events of the last days (weeks). By this concrete change a new legal situation has been created -- as in

November 1918. Authority at present is vested solely in the.....SA (Landeswehren, etc.) Their leaders therefore have the right and duty to take over the unoccupied state machine and operate it. They are doing this in the name of the German Nation, and they will be responsible for the execution of their tasks and for the choice of their means only to the German future.

An immense danger demands extraordinary measures, if only the bare existence of the people is to be saved. It is the first task to re-establish order and security and to organize the food supply. Only the strictest discipline of the population and the most direct action by the armed forces will make the solution possible.

As commanding officer of the SA (Landeswehren, etc.) in.... (Starkenburg, Rheinhessen, Oberhessen) I give the following orders to the whole population of the Land:

1. Every command of the...SA (Landeswehren, etc.), no matter by what rank given, must be obeyed immediately. Resistance will be punished in principle by death. The military courts (Feldgerichte) can in special cases apply different forms of punishment.

2. All firearms must be surrendered within twenty-four hours to the... SA (Landeswehren, etc.). Whoever is found to possess firearms after the expiration of this period will be shot on the spot without trial as the enemy of the...SA (Landeswehren, etc.) and the German people.

3. Every official or employee of the state or the public transporta-

tion system must immediately resume his duties. Resistance or sabotage will be punished by death.

The place of the former supreme state offices (Ministries) is taken by the...SA (Landeswehren, etc.), represented by me.

4. All emergency measures ordered by the...SA (Landeswehren, etc.) have the force of law for every one from the day of their publication by placard. Disobedience of these emergency measures will be in especially serious cases punished by death, even if the emergency measures do not provide for capital punishment.

5. So far as existing laws are not superseded by emergency or other measures ordered by the leadership of the...SA (Landeswehren, etc.), all present laws remain in force and the population is to obey them in every respect.

High treason proceedings against the authors of the Boxheimer Document were suspended on the motion of the attorney general (Reichsanwalt) Werner, on the ground that "this document is only an imaginary construction and therefore does not constitute an attempt at high treason."

Werner later on prepared the accusation against Lubbe, Torgler, Dimitrov, and Popov in connection with the Reichstag fire and in this way protected the, what many believe to be real incendiary, Goering.

Dr. Schaefer (who had confessed the authenticity of the Boxheimer

Document) was to experience the Nazis' revenge. In February 1932 he was severely wounded by Nazi revolver shots (Vossische Zeitung, 10 February 1932.) He was again attacked by the Nazis in March 1933, knocked down, tied to the rails, and crushed by a train (Frankfurter Zeitung, 18 March 1933.) The newspaper report ended with the statement: "There is no trace of the culprits."

Mierendorf (who had published the Boxheimer document) was incarcerated in the Lichtenburg concentration camp in 1933.

Dr. Best, on the other hand, became state commissioner for the Hessian police in 1933. In 1935 he was promoted to the central office of the Gestapo at Berlin; at the same time he became SS Obergruppenfuehrer. Finally, beginning in 1940, during the German occupation of Denmark, Best served as "Reichsbeauftragter."

In a fundamental article ("Grossraumordnung und Grossraumverwaltung") in the magazine Deutsche Zeitschrift fuer Politik (1942), Best advocated the liquidation of the peoples conquered by Germany:

"Annihilation and displacement of alien nations does not contradict the laws of life according to historical experience, if only it is done thoroughly. Wrong and very disadvantageous for the master people is any attempt to strip a defeated nation of its national unity and character, while leaving its human substance untouched in order to use it for the purposes of the ruling nation. All nations which use alien slaves and helots are dying racial death by mixture." (See Appendix: Fuehrer-lexikon, 1934, 1935, on Best.)

B. Terrorists and Policemen

1. Theodor Eicke. The following case indicates the origin of some of the bombs which the Nazis used for their attacks.

Theodor Eicke was in 1920 a member of the Schutzpolizei, and, after 1927, an SA man. He worked as "security official" for the I. G. Farben concern in Ludwigshafen. This position he used to steal high explosives. During a search of his home in Braunschweig in 1932 a store of eighty bombs was discovered, all ready for use.

Eicke was sentenced to two years in prison (Vossische Zeitung, 16 July 1932), but the Nazi government in Braunschweig (Klagges) released him. He fled to Italy. After the amnesty of 1 March 1933 Eicke came back to Germany and took over the command of the SS Standarte 10 (Pfalz). Because of a minor conflict with Gauleiter Buerckel, Eicke was arrested and taken to an insane asylum at Wuerzburg for observation. Released from there, he became an SS Gruppenfuehrer, and was put in charge of the Dachau concentration camp. Later on, Eicke was made controller of all concentration camps and chief of SS-Totenkopfverbaende, which had guard duties in the concentration camps. Despite his high rank Eicke personally took a hand in the mistreatment of camp inmates.[26] In 1936 he was made a member of the Reichstag. He was killed during the battle at Demyansk in Russia on 26 February 1943. (Aufbau, 12 March 1943.)

"Appreciating the high merits of the fallen Eichenlaubtraeger, SS Obergruppenfuehrer, and general of the Waffen SS, Theodor Eicke, the

Fuehrer has granted to the 3d SS Standarte of the SS Panzergrenadier Division the right to bear the name Theodore Eicke." (Das Schwarze Korps, March 1943.)

The Reichstagshandbuch says of Eicke: "Born on 17 October 1892; Protestant; public school, realschule; 1909 voluntary soldier (Bavarian inf. reg. No. 23), soldier until 1919. Merchant (I. G. Farben, Ludwigshafen a Rhein) until 1932. In the SA and SS since 1927. SS Fuehrer since 1929. Controller of the German concentration camps.

2. Hamburg Police. The Hamburg police had a nationalist revolutionary secret cell as early as 1921; it was always in touch with the Rossbach movement. As a Nazi publication later described them, they were "Always living under assumed names, later on also in active connection with the Hamburg NSDAP."[27]

At least two murders are attributable to them.

In 1926 the Hamburg Senate had forbidden all policemen to be members of the NSDAP or the SA. A police sergeant named Pohl, nevertheless, went on agitating in favor of the Nazis. On 12 March 1931 he was therefore investigated by one Lasally, a counsellor for the court. During the hearing Pohl fired two shots at Lasally, wounding him severely (Berliner Tageblatt, 14 March 1931.) The Dresden Freiheitskampf, a Nazi paper, wrote on 14 March 1931 that only a man without the least feeling of honor could be surprised that Pohl had used his gun. Pohl received a two years term in prison. Under the Third Reich, however, he was put in charge of the workers co-operatives of the Labor Front in Hamburg.[28]

Forty-eight hours after the attack against basally three Nazis, Heinrich Bammel, Aloia Hoeckmeyer, and a former police sergeant Albert Ernst Janssen, who belonged to the SA, same troop as Pohl, killed Ernst Henning, whom they took for another Communist representative, Edgar Andre. The Angriff (Berlin), Dr. Goebbels" paper, called the assassination of Henning "an act of jealousy." Next day after it had revealed that the murderer belonged to the NSDAP, the same newspaper reported that "it is common opinion that agents provocateurs were the wire-pullers behind the assassination."

Janssen and Hoeckmeyer received seven years in prison, Bammel six years (Koelner Zeitung, 16 November 1931). The Communist representative, Edgar Andre, whom the Nazis had really planned to assassinate, was taken to the concentration camp at Fuhlsbuettel near Hamburg because of "preparations for high treason" on 5 March 1933. Bammel and Hoeckmeyer, entrusted with the investigation against Andre, were ordered to beat him until he was willing to make a confession: this was to be their reward for their years in prison. (Deutsche Information, Paris, 12 November 1936.) Andre had to be taken to a hospital (Manchester Guardian, 13 November 1936).

Andre was later accused of murder before the Hanseatic Oberlandesgericht, whose president was a man named Roth. These were the "facts" behind the accusation: On 7 September 1930, a street battle was fought

in the Svazenstrasse in Hamburg between the forbidden SA and the forbidden Communist Red Front Fighters' League. During this fight SA leader Heinrich Dreckmann was killed. 29 While the court admitted that Andre had not participated in the melee, it nevertheless condemned him to death because he had been chairman of the Red Front Fighters' League. On 4 November 1936 Andre was beheaded. (DNB, 5 November 1936.)

3. Count Helldorff. On the evening of 12 September 1931, the Jewish New Year's Eve, a pogrom was arranged by some hundred young Nazis on the Kurfuerstendamm in Berlin. Under the slogan "Germany awake!" shopwindows were smashed, cafes were stormed, and Jewish customers beaten up. The affair was organized by SA leader Wolf Heinrich, Count von Helldorff, who had also been a party to the Kapp Putsch. Assisting Helldorff in the demonstration, was his Stabsfuehrer, Karl Ernst. (Berliner Tageblatt, 13 and 22 September 1931.)

Helldorff and Ernst were condemned to six months in prison. (Vorwaerts, 23 September, 8 November 1931.) Thirty other Nazis received prison terms between three months and one year and nine months. In 1933, however, Ernst was elected to the Reichstag. He was later killed by his Party comrades during the purge of 30 June 1934. Helldorff was elected to the Reichstag in 1933. Later he became President of the Potsdam Police (Fuehrerlexikon.)

C. Hitler's Comrades

1. Potempa. Before and after the plebiscite in Upper Silesia in

1921 civil war was rife in the area. On the German side it was conducted by the free corps against similar Polish terrorists and against the Polish population. Many murders took place in the course of it, both political and ostensibly non-political.

The year 1932 in particular saw numerous street fights between armed Nazi bands and sometimes armed, sometimes unarmed opponents, e. g., Stahlhelm, Jungdo, Reichsbanner, Communists. On 9 August 1932 the Papen government was forced to promulgate an emergency decree making political murder punishable by death, and imposing heavy prison terms on other political crimes.

During the night of 9/10 August 1932, in the town of Potempa, Konrad Pietozuch was attacked by eight National Socialists--Lachmann, Kottisch, a worker who had known of a former Nazi murder, Golombeck, Graupner, Mueller, Wollnitza, Hoppe, and Dutzkin. They threw Pietczuch out of his bed, beat him up in front of his mother, and finally killed him. The body showed twenty-nine wounds.

Six of the murderers, all members of the SA, were arrested and on 19 August condemned to death by the special court in Beuthen. Hitler wired to the killers: "My comrades! Faced with this terrible blood sentence, I feel myself bound to you in unlimited faithfulness. Your liberty is from this moment a question of our honor. To fight against a government under which such a thing could happen is our duty." (Voelkischer Beobachter, Bavarian edition, 24 August 1932.)

Two days later the same paper declared: "Party comrade Goering has sent the following telegram to the condemned SA men in Beuthen: "In nameless embitterment and rage against the terror sentence which has struck you, I promise you, my comrades, that our whole fight from now on will be for your freedom. You are no murderer. You have defended the life and the honor of your comrades. I send to your families today 1,000 Marks which I have received from your friends. Be courageous. More than 14 millions of the best Germans have made your interest their own." (Voelkischer Beobachter, 26 August 1932.)

The case of the Potempa killers became a test of strength between the National Socialists and the Papen government--a question of principle as to whether or not the Nazis could kill their adversaries with impunity. On 2 September 1932 the Papen government gave in: the murderers' sentences were commuted to life imprisonment.

That Hitler did not forget his comrades is shown by the following dispatch: "Gleiwitz, 15 March 1933 (TU): Pursuant to the order of the Reich Commissioner for Prussia, which demanded that criminal cases shall be reinvestigated with all speed if they are connected with the national revolution, the participants in the Potempa affair--Lachmann, Hoppe, Kottisch, Wollnitz, Mueller and Graupner--have been liberated. At the same time the investigation against Golombeck and Dutzkin, who were fugitives when the trial before the special court occurred, has also been stopped, and both have been released from detention." (Frankfurter

Zeitung, 17 March 1933.)

The released murderers were received triumphantly by the SA of Gleiwitz and led through the whole city. Lachmann was later appointed mayor of Potempa. (Deutsche Volkszeitung, Paris, 9 January 1938.)

2. The case of Hentsch. A locksmith Herbert Hentsch who had been unemployed for a long time, became in 1931 a member of the SA in Dresden and was appointed an intelligence officer. In 1932 he received a job in a cigarette factory under Nazi leadership. Subsequently announcing that he was no longer willing to devote as much time to the Party as before, he was threatened with degradation by his superior. Hentsch said that if this happened he would quit the Party.

On 4 November 1932, consequently, Hentsch was called away from the apartment of his mother "for a special Party service." He never returned. His friend and Party comrade Urban reported to the police that Hentsch was missing, and tried his best to find out about him by calling on Schenk and Killinger, who at that time were the highest ranking SA leaders in Saxony. Hentsch's mother also wrote despairing letters to Hitler and Röhm. Seydel answered in Röhm's name: "The case is completely unknown to the Chief of Staff of the SA."

Hentsch, in the meantime, has been killed by three Nazis--Schenk, Fränkel, and Voicik. His body was hidden under a dam (Vossische Zeitung, 31 December 1932.)

With the help of the Nazi Saxon deputy Dr. Bennecke, the murderers

escaped to Italy. They returned in 1933. Dr. Bennecke in 1936 became a member of the Reichstag.

The Reichstagshandbuch says of Dr. Bennecke, in part: "Born February 8th, 1902 in Dresden; no religious affiliation; Realgymnasium, Stud. rer. pol.; later stud. phil., promotion Dr. phil. summer 1929. 1922 for the first time in the NSDAP and SA. Second time: May 15, 1925; Party number: 4840. 1925/26 leader of the Greater German youth movement, later, Hitler Youth. Since July 1927 active SA leader, leader of the SA in Pomerania; member of the Saxon Diet June 1930 to October 1933. Member of the Reichstag since 1936.

3. Maikowski. Sturmbann 33 in Charlottenburg, often called the "murder storm," under the leadership of Hans Eberhard Maikowski, consisted of thugs, bullies, and mercenaries who during the years of civil strife in 1931 to 1933, always found enough "work" to do. Attacks against defenseless passers-by; bloody fights with members of the republican Reichsbanner or with so-called or even real Communists; these were the most important things in the life of Sturmbann 33. They were responsible for, among others, the following crimes: The attack against the Eden Palace on 22 November 1930; the assassination of the Communist Max Schirmer on 29 January 1931 in the Hebelstrasse; and the murder of the worker Grueneberg on 31 January 1931.[30] Prison terms imposed on single members of Sturmbann 33 had no influence on the others.

On 9 December 1931 Maikowski organized in Charlottenburg an attack

against workers who were returning from a meeting (Vossische Zeitung, 2 November 1932). According to his own confession Maikowski during this attack shot and killed the Communist, Walter Lange. Maikowski fled, but at the end of 1932 he was arrested. On the basis of the Christman amnesty of 1932 he was again released (Voelkischer Beobachter, 30 January 1932.)

On 30 January 1933 the "murder storm" marched to the Reich Chancelory to celebrate Hitler's appointment. About midnight Sturmbann 33 returned to its own hunting grounds: the Wallstrasse in Charlottenburg. Here there occurred a clash with the Communists. Both sides used firearms. There were three dead and many wounded. Maikowski, who was marching with the SA in plain clothes, was fatally wounded by a bullet fired from nearby. Also killed were a police sergeant named Kauritz, who had accompanied the Nazis, a worker named Oberheinrich.

The bodies of Maikowski and Zauritz were brought in solemn procession to the Berlin Cathedral and there laid in state; delegates of the Reich government and the Prussian Government attended the funeral. Finally the body of Maikowski was buried at the expense of the State, with SA and police attending (Berliner Tageblatt, 2 February 1933.)

Zauritz was buried at Ottmachau, Upper Silesia. At his grave the local SA demonstrated under Heines' leadership against the clergyman who in his funeral speech had expressed regret over the recent bloody clashes (Berliner Tageblatt, 8 February 1933.)

The trial against fifty-three Communists (accused because of the clash with the Sturmbann 33) was conducted under the chairmanship of Landesgerichtsdirektor Ohnesorge (DNB, 26 January 1934.) It lasted for three months and was supposed to demonstrate that the Communists had prepared for civil war (Berliner Tageblatt, 7 November 1933.) The public prosecutor asked for a total of 250 years imprisonment. On 26 January 1934 only 150 years were ordered by the court and then only on a charge of distrubing the peace, etc. (Frankfurter Zeitung, 3 February 1934.) During the announcement of the sentence the SA demonstrated in the court room against the clemency of the court (Neuer Vorwaerts, Prague, 4 February 1934.)

There were no more convictions for murder. The men who had shot Maikowski and Zauritz could not be found in spite of all efforts by the court. The hypothesis can not be easily dismissed that Zauritz, who was on very friendly terms with the workers, and Maikowski, who had fallen into disgrace, (he had been suspended shortly before 30 January from the leadership of the Sturmbann) were killed by the Nazis themselves. But whoever the culprit was, the Third Reich honored the victim, a gangster and murder, by granting him a state funeral. The Wallstrasse in Charlottenburg was renamed Maikowskistrasse and, according to the Voelkischer Beobachter of 25 April 1938 the Berliner SA Standarte I was called Hans Eberhard Maikowski.

D. The "Heroes of the Nation"

On 30 January 1933 Hitler was appointed Chancellor. He dissolved the Reichstag. On 17 February Goering, as Reich Commissioner for the Prussian Ministry of Interior, issued an order to all police groups and offices "for the support of the national movement." In this decree he declared that the police must avoid even the slightest appearance of a hostile attitude toward the national organizations (SA,SS, and Stahlhelm) and toward the nationalistic parties. On the other hand any activity by organizations hostile to the state was to be suppressed by all means. "Policemen who by doing their duty use their firearms will," said Goering, "be backed up and supported by me no matter what the result of their shooting" (Berliner Tageblatt, 21 February 1933).

On 27 February, Goering, to secure a pretext for his terror and to enable him to exclude elected representatives and thus attain a majority in the Reichstag, ordered the building fired.

Two days after the fire, on 1 March 1933, the Reich Government proclaimed an amnesty "for all punishable deeds which have been committed during the struggle for the national revolution of the German people, which served as a preparation for it or which were committed to defend the German soil "(Berliner Tageblatt, 23 and 27 March 1933). The last reference is to the so-called "Bomb-throwing peasants." The amnesty also applied to common murder, if the murders could picture their crime

as having been "political."

1. Kerrl and Freisler. A decree issued by Kerrl, the Reich Commissioner for the Prussian Ministry of Justice, to the general prosecuting authority (Voelkischer Beobachter, 19 April 1933) emphasized that "it is contrary to the state interest, if persons who have been incited to punishable deeds during the national revolution because of their national exaltation, are hindered in their career because of notations on the police blotter." It was therefore ordered that all such items had to be removed from the registers--opening the way for all Nazi murderers to freedom and a return to their former jobs and professions.

Another far-reaching step was announced during a "conference for German Right and German Justice" held in the meeting room of the Prussian Diet." At this conference the Landesleiter for Prussia of the National Socialist Lawyers, Ministerialdirektor Freisler, stated that "those fighters for Germany's freedom who were declared murderers by the old system are now proclaimed heroes of the nation." Freisler stressed that in finding what is right there must be no false objectivity. Right shall always be what serves the needs of the German people." (Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung 14 May 1933).

On 22 July 1933 the Prussian Cabinet under Goering's chairmanship consented to various decrees pushing this immunization program further. The first ordered more protection for the SA, SS, and Stahlhelm. The

second gave Goering the right to stop any pending investigation. The importance of the new measures was stressed by Goering on the same day during a press conference: "Whoever in the future lifts his hand against a representative of the National Socialist movement must know that he will lose his life within a very short time. And it does not matter at all whether or not it can be proved that he really intended to do it. It does not matter either whether the result of the attack was death or only injury" (Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 23 July 1933.) Any terroristic act performed by Nazis, in short, was to have legal sanction.

As to the second decree Goering explained: "We have created a law that enables the Prime Minister of Prussia to make the widest possible use of his right to grant pardon and to suppress any investigation, if he is of the opinion that supporters of the National Socialist revolution in the past have perhaps failed to observe the form of the law, but have done it only to support the revolution and therefore to help and serve the state and the people" (Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 23 July 1933).

This protection of murderers may be contrasted with the "law to guarantee right and peace (Rechtsfrieden)," which imposes capital punishment for a series of minor offenses--e. g., in paragraph 1, part 2, for those who intentionally import forbidden political printed matters from abroad (Frankfurter Zeitung, 24 July 1933.)

Rudolf Hess, deputy of the Fuehrer, added his comment: "Everybody

must know that we are far from granting clemency to our opponents. He must know that every murder committed by a Communist or Marxist against a National Socialist will be revenged by us tenfold against Communist and Marxian leaders. He must know that every offence against the National Socialist state involves the heaviest punishment. Every National Socialist must also be aware that mistreatment of opponents is an expression of a Jewish-Bolshevik mentality and is undignified for National Socialists" (Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 25 July 1933.)

2. Dr. Dietrich. Among the many National Socialist legal statements approving terroristic acts, the following article is typical:

THE NATIONAL AIM

An Attempt at a Solution of a contemporary Question

By Landesgerichtspraesident Dr. Dietrich, chingen[1]

"The national aim can determine quite a number of actions of which bodily injuries, deprivation of freedom, and murder, as actions pertaining to the (political) struggle, particularly merit discussion.... Never before has anyone had the idea that a soldier on the battlefield should be punished because of the bodily injuries, the killings, the acts of destruction, and other seemingly punishable acts which become heroic deeds if committed in a war.

"But what must be done against the external enemy also holds true for the enemy inside the country....We therefore state that the national aim

1. Deutsche Juristenzeitung, 1933, No. 11, pp. 718-19.

clearly serves as a reason to omit punishment, if only the law is executed rightly. The field in which the national aim may realize itself is a very wide one; cases of killing, of bodily injuries, of deprivation of freedom have been mentioned before. But in addition such things as cases of injury, destruction, or arson may belong to it. The judge who is courageous enough to interpret laws freely can even now find the right solution for every important question. In this he is following ancient Germanic ways. The domestic enemy was ostracized in the times of our forefathers; he was without honor, without legal protection, without peace; he was an outlaw, and every member of the community (Volksgenosse) had the right to kill him, if he was not in sanctuary. The complete liquidation of the domestic enemy is an integral part of the restoration of German honor." This acquiescence in arson as a national deed was a clear reference to Goering. Still another law, this one concerning "the fighters of the national revolution" (March 1934) provided that members of the NSDAP or of the Stahlhelm (or of their sub-organizations) must be taken care of according to the Reichsversorgungsgesetz (Reich maintenance law) if their health had suffered because of bodily injuries received as members of the NSDAP, the Stahlhelm, or their sub-organizations before 13 November 1933. From now on the old "meeting fighters" were placed on equal basis with the victims of the World War.

3. Hitler's Amnesty. After the death of Hindenburg, Hitler as Reich President sanctioned a new amnesty for terrorists. Its text, as given in

the press follows:

LAW FOR EXEMPTION FROM PUNISHMENT

An amnesty for punishable deeds and political offenses.[1]

Berlin, August 9th; It is reported officially that on the occasion of the unification of the office of the Reichspraesident with the office of the Reich Chancellor, and on the occasion of the investment of the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler with all rights of the Reichspraesident, the Reich Government has adopted a law concerning exemption from punishment, which was published today in the Reichsgesetzblatt [official publication of laws.] This law contains a general amnesty for certain groups of political offenses.

Through this general amnesty, all punishments not exceeding 6 months imprisonment or 1,000 Reichsmarks fine are remitted if the condemned have previously received no punishment or only negligible punishment. Punishments up to three months and fines up to 500 Reichsmark shall also be remitted, if a person has been punished before. Under the same conditions which permit abrogation of punishment, proceedings still pending shall also be stopped, if the deed was committed before 2 August, the day of the death of the Reichspraesident von Hindenburg and the transfer of his functions to the Fuehrer.

The political offenses for which exemption of punishment will be granted are the following:

1. Frankfurter Zeitung, 10 August 1934.

An offense against the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor;

Offenses committed by word or print against the welfare and respect of the Reich, which did not originate in a mentality hostile to the people and the state;

Offenses to which the doer was incited by excessive zeal for the fight for National Socialist ideas;

Other offenses and bodily injuries committed in the political struggle; "In these cases also the prerequisite for the suspension is that the deed was committed before 2 August 1934.

Exempted from amnesty for political crimes are high treason, betrayal of military secrets, all crimes against life, attacks with explosives, (if a human being was killed or wounded by it), and finally, all acts which by their execution or motivation demonstrate a low mentality on the part of the doer....

"In connection with the proclamation of this new law concerning exemption from punishment, the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor has directed all regional administrations to speed up the review of all cases of protective custody and to dismiss from protective custody anybody whose case can be considered negligible or who can be expected to be no longer hostile toward the National Socialist state and its organs, in view of the length of the detention or the character of the prisoner.

"The Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor has also emphasized, that even

those cases where protective custody was ordered in connection with the action of 30 June 1934, shall be reviewed with benevolence."

On 13 November 1934 Goering spoke at the academy for German Law in the Berlin City Hall on "Legal security as the basis of the people's community." After he had glorified the murders of 30 June 1934 as a great legal deed, he began to threaten those judges and public prosecutors who had not sufficiently accommodated themselves (gleichgeschaltet) to the new order. Goering said: "The judges and prosecutors have a very important, very necessary, but also very difficult task....On the one side they must decide without hesitation according to the laws; on the other side the powerful position which they enjoy, thanks to our authority, cannot be abused, as in cases of certain judges who do not fully recognize the people's community of the National Socialist state and, therefore, turn the full force of the laws against National Socialists.... There I must say, a dangerous spark is ignited, and if I have the feeling that it happens intentionally, then I say: that is close to treason" (Deutsche Freiheit, Saarbruecken, 15 November 1934.) Reich Minister of Justice Dr. Franck praised Goering's speech as giving the mot d'ordre (DNB, 15 November 1934.)

In his book "Construction of a Nation" (Berlin, 1934. E. S. Mittler und Sohn), Goering explicitly defended the Nazi terror. He said: "I gave the sharpest orders, I demanded that everybody ruthlessly apply his

energies for the suppression of all elements hostile to the state." (p. 86)..."I declared then in the presence of thousands of compatriots and comrades, that every bullet fired out of the pistol of a policeman would be my bullet. If one calls it murder, then I have committed murder; all that I have ordered, I also support, I am responsible for it, and there is no reason for me to fear." (p. 87)...."Against the enemies of the state we must proceed ruthlessly. It cannot be forgotten that at the moment of our rise to power, according to the official election figures of March 1933, six million people still confessed their sympathy for Communism and eight millions for Marxism....Therefore the concentration camps have been created, where we at first confined thousands of Communist and Social Democratic Party functionaries. Of course, excesses happened in the beginning. Of course, here and there innocent people were also hit. Of course, beatings occurred here and there, and acts of violence all the past, compared with the greatness of our task, this happened. But compared with/German freedom-revolution has been the least bloody and most disciplined of all revolutions." (p. 89)

E. The Unhanged

1. Johannes Von Leers. Additional evidence that the Nazis condoned the acts of terrorism and murder committed by their colleagues is provided in a pamphlet entitled "Jews Are Looking At You," written by the former attache of the Foreign Office, Dr. jur. Johann von Leers, and published in 1933 (N. S. Druckerei und Verlag, Berlin-Schoeneberg). The book differentiates between "Blood-Jews" (murderer) "Lying-Jews," "Fraud-Jews,"

"Destroying-Jews," "Art-Jews," and "Money-Jews."

Under the heading "Blood Jews" are included Rosa Luxemburg (executed); Karl Liebknecht (arrested and shot while escaping); Muenzenberg (leader of the murder community); Levine-Nissen (executed); Erzberger (at last executed); Gumbel (still unhanged); Adenauer.

As "Lying Jews" are found, among others: Einstein (unhanged); Dr. Hilferding (unhanged); Leon Feuchtwanger (unhanged); Theodor Lessing (unhanged); Theodor Wolff.

As "Fraud-Jews," among others: Heilmann (unhanged).

As "Art-Jews" are mentioned: the brothers Rotter (unhanged); Erwin Piscator; Charlie Chaplin; and Elisabeth Bergner.

Among the "Money-Jews," are said to be Warburg, Kahn, and Melchior (the tag "unhanged" is surprisingly missing from those names.

Fritz and Albert Rotter, theater managers at Berlin, were first driven into bankruptcy after the National Socialist rise to power, and both were then indicted for fraudulent bankruptcy. They escaped into Lichtenstein. On 5 April 1933 Fritz and Albert Rotter, as well as Mrs. Gertrud Rotter and a Miss Wolff, were attacked when on a hike by nine Nazis. Attempting to escape, Alfred and Gertrud Rotter were hurled down a precipice and died; Fritz Rotter and Miss Wolff escaped with their lives but were severely wounded.

Four of the nine Nazis were tried by a court in Vaduz (Lichtenstein) on 8 June 1933 and were sentenced to prison terms (Frankfurter

Zeitung, 9 June 1933.) The culprits defended themselves by asserting they had the order to bring the Rotters back to German soil. Other Nazi assailants escaped to Austria, were surrendered to Germany at the demand of the German Government, and, with the exception of one man who was acquitted, were sentenced to brief prison terms after the court at Konstanz had expressed appreciation of their patriotic motives (Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 28 July 1933.) Because of the amnesty they did not have to spend even this short term in prison.

Fritz Rotter emigrated to France. The German Reich asked for his extradition on the grounds of fraudulent bankruptcy in 1934, but a French court in Aixen-Provence refused the German demand, recalling the murder of Rotter's relatives. (Populaire, Paris, 9 February 1933.)

Theodor Lessing, a prominent philosopher, was a professor at the technical university in Hannover. As early as 1926 Nazi students had asked for his removal, charging that he had offended Hindenburg by a pamphlet containing the sentence "behind a zero there sometimes hides a Nero." Lessing later emigrated to Czechoslovakia. There at Marienbad he was shot on 30 August 1933. The probable assassins, Max Rudolf Eckart and Rudolf Zischka, fled across the nearby German border. The leader of the Sudeten German Nazis, deputy Jung, denied that Eckert had been a member of the NSDAP. The Party refused any responsibility, since "the Party condemns and abhors murder as a means of policy" (Frankfurter Zeitung, 5 September 1933.)

As the Deutsche Freihert of Saarbrücken reported on 3 November 1933, "both killers of Professor Lessing are living at Munich. They have served, so it is said, under false names with an SA troop. The newspapers have been forbidden to report their flight into Bavaria. Both are treated at Munich with great admiration; during the celebration of 9 November, especially (the anniversary of the Nazi putsch) they were brought in triumph from one meeting to the other. As their incognito is slowly disintegrating, it is planned to send them, one of these days, to another place of service. It is rumored that they may be used as guards at the concentration camp of Dachau.

Ernst Heilmann, leader of the Social Democrats in the Prussian Diet, was thrown in the Oranienburg concentration camp in 1933; there he was terribly tortured. Later he was transferred to Papenburg, and from there to Buchenwald, where he died in 1939.

Willi Muen Zenberg, a Communist publisher, had published quite a number of anti-Nazi books in Germany and later in France. In 1940 he was interned by the French Government as an enemy alien. He escaped in June 1940, when the German troops approached the camp of Chambaran near Lyon. During the flight, however, he perished under mysterious circumstances; his body was found hanging from a tree, in the woods between Lyon and Valence (In this case, suicide cannot be excluded.)

Dr. Hilferding, an important Marxian theoretician, had been German

Minister of Finance in 1923. He emigrated to France and after the French collapse was surrendered by the French Government to the Germans (New York Times, 12 February 1941.) Some days later he was found hanged in his prison cell (Associated Press, 17 September 1941.)

Theodor Wolff had been chief editor of the Berliner Tageblatt. He emigrated to France. After the total occupation of France, Wolff was arrested at Nice in 1942; he was taken to the concentration camp at Dachau, and from Dachau to Oranienburg, where he died after a grilling by the Gestapo.

In all those cases Herr Leers, by the remark "unhanged" (published by a Party publishing house), implicitly called for their assassination. This was carried out either by individuals or state organs. But Herr von Leers was not a private individual; he was a trustee of the NSDAP (as can be learned from the Fuehrerlexikon; see Appendix.)

F. Austrian Terrorists as Members of the Reichstag

After its rise to power in Germany the NSDAP tried time and again to conquer Austria also by terroristic means. The Braunbuch (Brown Book) mentions twenty-four acts of breaking in, armed attack, attempts with explosives or guns, arson, and murder--all of them committed by citizens of Germany or by Austrian Nazis in Austria. The Braunbuch also quotes the directive given for the execution of terroristic acts by the NSDAP.

The structure of the Austrian NSDAP and its armed formations was identical with the Reich organization, and the Austrian branch was led

and directed from the Reich. Its leading personalities--Alfred Proksch, Alfred Eduard Frauenfeld, and Theo Habicht--were appointed by Hitler to be members of the German Reichstag. To the culprits who escaped from Austria, asylum was granted in Germany.

1. Planetta and Holzweber. On 25 July 1934, the Austrian Nazis tried to overthrow the Dollfuss government. One hundred and fifty Nazis, under the command of Otto Planetta and Friedrich Holzweber, occupied the Bundeskanzleramt (site of the Austrian chancellery) in Vienna. Planetta fired two shots at Dollfuss, who died a few hours later. At the same time the office of the Austrian Bundespraesident (president of the state) Miklas, and the Ravag radio station were attacked. But Government troops surrounded the Bundeskanzleramt--the putsch against the Ravag station and against the Bundespraesident failed, and the National Socialist uprisings in Styria, Carinthia, Vorarlberg, and Lower and Upper Austria were suppressed.

Evidence that this uprising originated in Germany is furnished by the Deutscher Presse Dienst (German press service) of 22 July 1934, in which the assassination of Dollfuss was announced three days before it happened.[1]

1. Footnote following.

SECRET

1. cf: Contribution to the Early History and History of the July Revolt, edited on the basis of official sources (Vienna, 1934, by the Heimatdienst, Bundeskanzleramt /Information service of the Austrian Government/)

"People's Uprising in Austria"

German Press Service (photos)
Publ. and Editorial Board, Berlin SW

Late edition
22 July 1934

1. Dr. Rintelen
Austrian Ambassador in Rome is
negotiating about a new government.

2. The Bundeskanzleramt
was occupied by the revolutionaries

3. Minister of Security Fey has been
arrested by the revolutionaries

4. Bundeskanzler Dollfuss was severely
wounded during the fight and died.

5. The building of the Bisamberg broadcasting
station which was destroyed by the
revolutionaries.

6. Information to editors: Because of the
late arrival of news on the events in
Vienna we had no time to prepare photo
stereotypes. But to help our customers
to illustrate the events, we send out
"Matern" (Mati).
We ask you to change the text according
to later news.

Plannetta and Holzweber were executed. The German Government denied any connection with them or the revolt and recalled its Ambassador from Vienna, who had attempted to negotiate between the putschists and the Austrian Government.

But when in March 1938 the Nazis finally succeeded in conquering Austria, Himmler promptly placed wreaths on the graves of Planetta and Holzweber (Voelkischer Beobachter, 19 March 1938.) On 10 April Gauleiter Buerkel repeated this solemn act (Voelkischer Beobachter, 11 April 1938.)

Among the seventy-three Austrian members of the Reichstag named in 1938 there were (according to the Reichstagshandbuch of 1938) fourteen who had been condemned to life imprisonment or death for terroristic acts.

G. The Rise of the Terrorists

One statistical indication as to how the Nazis rewarded terrorists can be had from a review of the autobiographies of Nazi members of the Reichstag for 1933, 1936 and 1938.

Number of Nazi Parliamentarians Appointed to the Reichstag, According to Time of Appointment and to Their Terroristic Past.

Service in:	March 1933	November 1933	1936	1938	Total	Führer-lexikon
Kapp putsch	5	5	6	2	18	21
Organization Consul	0	15	0	0	5	11
Black Reichswehf	4	10	1	0	15	5
Hitler putsch, battle of Coburg	8	9	10	4	31	12
Austrian putsch	0	0	0	14	14	1
	17	39	17	20	83	50

Appendix One

Autobiographies

Name	Source
Best	Führerlexikon 1934/1935
Bormann	Reichstagshandbuch November 1933
Brückner	Reichstagshandbuch 1936
Frick	Führerlexikon 1934/1935
Hayn	Reichstagshandbuch November 1933
Helldorff	Führerlexikon 1934/1935
Killinger	Reichstagshandbuch 1938
Kriebel	Reichstagshandbuch 1938
Lindenfels	Reichstagshandbuch 1936
Leers	Führerlexikon 1934/1935
Maurice	Reichstagshandbuch 1938
Reinhard	Führerlexikon 1934/1935
Selchow	Führerlexikon 1934/1935
Seydel	Reichstagshandbuch 1938
Stephani	Reichstagshandbuch 1936
Verschuer	Führerlexikon 1934/1935
Vogt	Reichstagshandbuch November 1933
Wagner	Reichstagshandbuch 1936

Appendix One

TERRORISTS AS MEMBERS OF THE REICHSTAG

Name	Terrorist Formation	Appointment or Election	Rank	Judicial Decision, if any
Aldinger, Walter	Black Reichswehr	Nov 1933	Kreisleiter	
Amann, Max	Hitler putsch	Mar 1933	Reichsleiter SS-Obergruppenführer	
Band, Victor	Austria	1938	Generalstarbeitsführer	Imprisonment for life
Berchtold, Josef	Hitler putsch	1936	SA-Gruppenführer	
Bock, Franz	Hitler putsch	1936	SA-Brig.Führer	
Böhme, Helmut	Hitler putsch	Nov. 1933	Kreisleiter	
Bormann, Martin	Rossbach	Nov. 1933	Reichsleiter	Sentenced to 1 year by Constitutional Court
Brass, Otto	Kapp putsch	1936	SS-Oberführer	

1. Explanation of Symbols:

Black Reichswehr	Member of Black (Schwarze) Reichswehr.
Hitler putsch	Participated in Hitler putsch of 1923.
Kapp putsch	Participated in Kapp putsch of 1920.
OC	Organization Consul, a Free Corps.
Rossbach	Member of Free Corps Rossbach
Austria	Austrian Nazi
Coburg	Participant of Coburg street fight.

Brückner, Wilhelm	Hitler putsch	1936	SA-Obergruppenführer	
Bunge, Hanns	Hitler putsch	Nov. 1933	SA-Brig. Führer	
Coburg, Herzog von Karl Eduard	O.C.	Nov. 1933	General of Infantry	President, German Red Cross
Czarnowski, Bruno	Kapp putsch	1936	Gauamtsleiter	
Diesenreiter, Hans	Austria	1938	SS-Scharführer	
Ernst, Alfred	Kapp putsch	Nov. 1933	SA-Brig.Führer	
Fiehler, Karl	Hitler putsch	Nov. 1933	Reichsleiter, SS-Gruppenführer	
Fink v. Finkenstein H. Georg	Kapp putsch	1938	SA-Gruppenführer	
Freytag, Hermann	Black Reichswehr	Nov. 1933	Kreisleiter	
Frick, Wilhelm	Hitler putsch	Mar. 1933	Reich Minister of Interior, 1933-43; Reich Protector in Bohemia and Moravia, 30 Aug. 1943.	
Gieselbrecht, Friedrich	Hitler putsch	1936	Director, Hilfskasse NSDAP	
Göring, Hermann	Hitler putsch	1932	Reich Marshal	
Gotzmann, Leo	Austria	1938	Oberpolizeirat	Imprisonment for Life.

Graf, Ulrich	Hitler putsch	1936	SS-Oberführer	
v. Grolmann, Wilhelm	Kapp putsch Hitler putsch	1938	SA-Brig. Führer	
Habicht, Theo (dead)	Kapp putsch	Nov. 1933	Landesinspektor Oesterreich	
Hanke, Karl	Black Reichswehr	Nov. 1933	SS-Obergruppenführer	
Hayn, Hans	Black Reichswehr	Mar. 1933	SA-Gruppenführer	
Heer, Willi	Coburg	Nov. 1933	Kreisleiter	
Heines, Edmund (dead)	Rossbach	Mar. 1933	SA-Obergruppenführer	Participant of Stettin Feme.
v. Helldorff, Graf Wolf Heinrich (dead)	Kapp putsch	Nov. 1933	Police president Berlin	Participant 20 July 1944 Putsch.
Helemuth, Otto	Coburg	Nov. 1933	Gauleiter	
Henrich, Fred	Black Reichswehr	Nov. 1933	SA-Brig. Führer	"Nach der Ermordung Erzbergers 4. Mon. Untersuch Haft"
Hess, Rudolf	Hitler putsch	Mar. 1933	Stellvertreter d. Führers	
Hinkel, Hans	Hitler putsch	Nov. 1933	SS-Oberführer	
Hintze, Kurt	Black Reichswehr	1936	SS-Oberführer	
Hoelzel, Max	Austria	1938	Untersturmführer	Sentenced to death.

Holz, Karl (dead)	Hitler putsch	1938	SA-Brig.Führer	"Parteibuch No. 77"
Honisch, Eduard	Austria	1938	SA-Sturmführer	Sentenced to death.
Hudl, Paul	Austria	1938	SS-Hauptscharführer	Participant in leading positions.
Hühnlein, Adolph (dead)	Hitler putsch	Mar. 1933	NSKK Korpsführer	
v. Jagow, Dietrich	O.C.	Nov. 1933	SA-Obergruppenführer	Member people's court.
Kalcher, Max	Austria	1938	SS-Oberführer	Sentenced to death.
Kaul, Walter	Black Reichswehr	Nov. 1933	Hauptmann	
Kersken, Heinr	Hitler putsch	Nov. 1933	SA-Standartenführer	
V.Killinger, Manfred	O.C.	1932	Ambassador to Rumania	
Klein, Emil	Coburg	1936	Obergebietsführer HJ	
Kolb, Arthur	Kapp putsch	Mar. 1933	Kreisleiter	
Kopprasch, Felix	O.C.	Nov. 1933	Kreisleiter	
Kriebel, Hermann	Hitler putsch	1938	SA-Obergruppenführer	
v. Kursell, Otto	Hitler putsch	1938	SA-Obersturmführer	
Lampe, Heinz	Kapp putsch	1936	SS-Obersturmführer	

Maurice, Emil	Hitler putsch	1936	SS-Standarten-führer	
Michaelis, Rudolf	Black Reichswehr	Mar. 1933	SA-Brig.Führer	
Mitterbauer, Leopold	Austria	1938	Gauamtsleiter	Imprisonment for Life.
Nippold, Otto	Hitler putsch	1938	Stellv.Gauleiter	
v.Pfeffer, Franz	Kapp putsch Black Reichswehr	Mar. 1932	1926-30 OSAF	Prosecuted as murderer.
Pirker, Michael	Austria	1938	Holzarbeiter	Imprisonment for Life.
Ponndorf, Eberhard	Kapr putsch	1936	NSKK Gruppen-führer	
Raber, Otto	Austria	1938	SA-Sturmhaupt-führer	Sentenced to death.
Rainer, Friedrich	Austria	1938	Gauleiter	Imprisonment for Life.
Rau, Georg	Kapp putsch	1936	SA-Brig.Führer	
Röhm, Ernst	Hitler putsch	Nov 1933	Reichsminister, SA-Stabschef	Murdered 30 June 1934.
Saupert, Hans	Hitler putsch	Nov. 1933	SS-Brig.Führer	
Schäfer-Hansen, H.C.	Kapp putsch	1936	NSKK Obergruppen-führer	
Schaub, Julius	Hitler putsch	1936	SS-Obergruppen-führer	
Schmidhofer, Hans	Austria	1938	Kreisleiter	
Schröder, Georg	Black Reichswehr	Nov. 1933	SS-Standarten-führer	
Schultz, Karl	Black Reichswehr	Nov. 1933	Gauamtsleiter	

Schulz, Karl	Kapp putsch	Nov. 1933	SS-Obersturmbann-führer	
Schulze-Wechsungen, Walter	Kapp putsch	Nov. 1933	Landespropaganda-leiter	
Seydel, Josef	Hitler putsch	Mar. 1933	NSKK Obergruppen-führer	
Stang, Walter	Hitler putsch	1936	Reichsamtsleiter	
Sterzing, Paul	Black Reichswehr	Nov. 1933		
v. Stephani, Franz	Kapp putsch	Nov. 1933	Führer SA-Reserve I	Indicted for 7 murders, killing of the Vorwärts workers.
Straubinger, Christian	Austria	1938	SA-Scharführer	Sentenced to death.
Streicher, Julius	Hitler putsch	Mar. 1933	Gauleiter Franken SA-Obergr. Führer	
Stumpf, Martin	Kapp putsch	Mar. 1933	Kreisleiter	
Theissenberger, Franz	Austria	1938	Kriminal-beamter	Sentenced to death.
Vogt, Peter	Black Reichswehr	Nov. 1933	SA-Brig.Führer One is head of Hitler's Museums	
Voss, Hermann	Black Reichswehr	Nov. 1933	One is head of German Broad-casting Co.	2 years de-tention for murder.
Wagner, Robert	Black Reichs-wehr Hitler putsch	Mar. 1933	Gauleiter Baden	

Weber, Christian	Hitler putsch	1936	SS-Brig.Führer
Wegner, Ernst	Kapp putsch	Mar. 1933	SS doctor
Weiss, Wilhelm	Hitler putsch	Mar. 1933	Reichshauptamtsleiter Editor, Völkischer Beobachter

Footnotes

1. Report of the Commission of Inquiry of the Prussian Diet, 3 June 1919.
2. E. J. Gumbel: Vier Jahre politischer Mord, p. 9
   Memorandum of the Reich Minister of Justice, p. 12, p. 40.
3. Reference is made to the appointment of deputies for the following reason: in the Third Reich there was only one Party, the NSDAP. Although the elections in 1933 were actually and in 1936 were legally open, the voter had the right only to select candidates listed on the "Party"s Suggested List of Candidates" (Elections of 12 November 1933 and 29 March 1936) or on the "Führer"s List (Elections of 10 April 1938) - or else go to a concentration camp. Over 99 per cent chose the first alternative.
4. Der Mord an Karl Liebknecht und Rosa Luxemburg. Verlag der Freiheit, Berlin, 1919.
5. "Justification of the decision of the Lay Assessors' court of Central Berlin of 27 April 1929," Die Justiz. Volume IV, Book V p. 6.
6. Der Jorns-Prozess. „Internationale Verlagsanstalt, Berlin, 1929.
   E. J. Gumbel„ Verrater verfallen der Feme (p. 43). Berlin, 1929 (called Verrater henceforth).
7. Report of proceedings, Deutsche Zeitung, 5-10 December 1919; Zukunft, 29 November 1919. E. J. Gumbel: Vier Jahre politischer Mord, p. 20.
8. Frankfurter Zeitung, 1 and 6 February 1935.
9. Compare R&A Report #7866: "A Day by Day History of Munich, November 1918 to November 1919."
10. Ibid, p.
11. Ibid, p.
    E. J. Gumbel: Vier Jahre politischer Mord, p. 36.
12. E. J. Gumbel: Verräter, p. 100.
13. E. J. Gumbel: Vier Jahre politischer Mord, p. 56.
14. Henning Duderstedt: Der Schrei pach dem Recht. Also Memorandum of the Reich Minister of Justice, p. 28.
15. See E. J. Gumbel: "German Military Organizations 1919-1923" and "Precursors of Fascism."
16. O. C. means "Organization Consul." The name originates from the fact that Ehrhardt of the Munich Police Directorate had received a false pass in the name of "Consul H. von Eschwege."
17. E. J. Gumbel: from "Lasst Köpfe rollen," p. 5, Berlin, 1931.
18. Berliner Tageblatt. 8 November 1933.
19. Nazifuhrer sehen Dich an, p. 147. Carrefour-Verlag, Paris, 1934.
20. Völkischer Beobachter, 5 June 1934.
    Le Temps, 5 June 1934.
21. E. J. Gumbel: Verräter, p. 147.
22. E. J. Gumbel: Verräter, p. 195.
23. N. S. Jahrbuch, 1934.
24. Gessler: "Memorandum to the Feme Committee of the Reichstag of 2 March 1926." Major Buchrucker: Imschatten Setcks, Berlin, 1928.
25. Konrad Heiden: Die Geburt des III Reiches, p. 23. Zurich, 1934.

26. Ibid., p.
27. Hermann Okrass: op. cit., p. 66.
28. Maximilian Scheer: op. cit., p. 161.
29. Hermann Okrass: op. cit., p. 214.
30. Memorandum of the SPD Group in the Braunschweig Diet, completed in November 1931. E. J. Gumbel: Lasst Köpfe rollen.

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